

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 080403

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON NAMIBIA

REF: (A)CAPE TOWN 521; (B) USUN 1033; (C)CAPE TOWN 526;
(D) USUN 1059

1. WITH DELIVERY OF FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE ON NAMIBIA TO
VORSTER, AND VORSTER'S RESPONSE, IT IS IMPORTANT TO MOVE
QUICKLY TO OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SAG ON NAMIBIA'S
FUTURE.

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2. IN APPROACHING THESE DISCUSSIONS, WE PLAN TO BE GUIDED
BY THE FOLLOWING:

-- TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. IF THE TURNHALLE PROCESS
PROCEEDS WITHOUT ALTERATION IN PACE OR DIRECTION, THE
REST OF THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM WILL BE IMMENSELY COMPLICATED

AND WESTERN RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE LIKELY TO BE BADLY STRAINED.

-- CLOSE COORDINATION WITH THE UK, FRANCE, THE FRG AND CANADA MUST BE MAINTAINED. NOT ONLY DO WE SHARE MUTUAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA, BUT ALSO COORDINATED POSITIONS PROVIDE US WITH

UNUSUAL TACTICAL LEVERAGE BOTH IN THE SC AND WITH SOUTH AFRICA. IN SHORT, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SC TO TAKE ACTION IN THE ABSENCE OF SUPPORT BY THE FIVE; IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO TAKE LIGHTLY PROPOSALS MADE TO IT BY THE FIVE.

-- RESOLUTION 385 REMAINS THE CRITICAL DOCUMENT AROUND WHICH NEGOTIATIONS MUST TAKE PLACE. IT IS THE SINGLE STATEMENT REGARDING NAMIBIA'S POLITICAL FUTURE WHICH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED ACKNOWLEDGE. MOREOVER, ITS PROVISIONS ARE GENERAL ENOUGH TO ALLOW SUBSTANTIAL SCOPE FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BOTH WITH SOUTH AFRICA, WITH OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND SWAPO.

-- THROUGHOUT THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION, LIAISON SHOULD BE MAINTAINED WITH OTHER KEY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, IN PARTICULAR NIGERIA AND THE FRONT LINE GOVERNMENTS, AND WITH SYG WALDHEIM.

3. ACCORDINGLY, WE ENVISION THE FOLLOWING INITIAL STEPS:

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-- FOR THE TIME BEING, NEW YORK OFFERS THE BEST SITE FOR COORDINATION OF WESTERN PLANNING AND ACTION TO FOLLOW UP ON THE NAMIBIA DEMARCHE.

-- THE CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK, PREFERABLY AT THE COUNSELOR LEVEL OR ABOVE, SHOULD PROMPTLY MEET TO POOL THEIR ASSESSMENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESPONSE TO THE DEMARCHE. MISSION MAY DRAW UPON PARAS 1 AND 2 OF AMBASSADOR BOWDLER'S ASSESSMENT (REF C) TOGETHER WITH APPROPRIATE POINTS IN THIS MESSAGE. A JOINT ANALYSIS SHOULD BE PREPARED AND CONVEYED TO CAPITALS BY THE FIVE.

-- SYG WALDHEIM SHOULD BE BRIEFED FULLY ON THE CONTENTS OF THE DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA AND ON VORSTER'S INITIAL RESPONSE. WALDHEIM SHOULD BE TOLD THAT WE PLAN TO FOLLOW UP PROMPTLY WITH VORSTER AND THAT WE WOULD WELCOME HIS VIEWS.

-- IN ADDITION, THE CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK SHOULD

PREPARE:

(A) JOINT RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING A RESPONSE TO THE SAG, INCLUDING THE VENUE AND AGENDA FOR FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSIONS. (OUR PRELIMINARY VIEWS ON THIS ARE CONTAINED IN PARA 4 BELOW.)

(B) THE MAIN HEADINGS OF A JOINT FIVE-POWER POSITION PAPER TO SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR THE NEXT STAGE OF TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. IF POSSIBLE, EACH OF THE FIVE SHOULD CIRCULATE ITS DETAILED VIEWS ON A POSITION, UNDER EACH OF THE MAIN HEADINGS, IN ADVANCE OF THE EXPERTS' MEETING SCHEDULED FOR THE WEEK OF APRIL 18 IN NEW YORK. OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR MAIN HEADINGS ARE CONTAINED IN PARA 5 BELOW.

-- THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD MEET APRIL 18 WITH EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS TO AGREE UPON A POSITION PAPER FOR OPENING CONFIDENTIAL

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TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS REGARDING FOLLOW-ON POSITIONS AND TACTICS.

4. OUR PRELIMINARY VIEWS REGARDING A RESPONSE TO VORSTER ARE THAT INITIAL TALKS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE GROUP OF FIVE SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN NEW YORK AT THE LEVEL OF AMBASSADOR. THE PURPOSE OF THE TALKS WOULD BE TO AGREE ON MODALITIES AND VENUE FOR FUTURE TALKS; TO ALLOW AN INITIAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS; TO DETERMINE WHETHER PRINCIPLES REGARDING NAMIBIA'S FUTURE CAN BE DEFINED AS A MEANS OF AGREEING ON THE OBJECTIVES OF THE TALKS. WE ENVISAGE SUCH TALKS TAKING PLACE THE WEEK OF APRIL 25.

5. WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING MAIN HEADINGS FOR A JOINT POSITION PAPER ON TALKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS:

(1) ASSESSMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESPONSE TO DEMARCHE AND ITS CURRENT POSITION.

(2) STATEMENT OF WESTERN POSITION

-- THE IMPORTANCE BOTH TO SOUTH AFRICA AND TO THE WEST OF DEVELOPING AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT.
-- THE TURNHALLE PROCESS AND THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT.
-- THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SC RESOLUTION 385.

(3) OBJECTIVES OF INITIAL TALKS

-- DELAY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TURNHALLE DECISIONS.
-- OBTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN AGREEMENT THAT INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT MUST BE BASED ON SC RESOLUTION 385.
-- GAIN AGREEMENT FOR FURTHER, MORE DEFINITIVE DISCUSSIONS.

(4) TACTICS

- AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPAL ON FUTURE TALKS.
- AGREEMENT ON OBJECTIVES OF TALKS.

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(5) PROCEDURE

- VENUE FOR FUTURE TALKS.
- PARTICIPANTS.
- AGENDA

6. IN ADDITION TO JOINT POSITION PAPER, WE PROPOSE
INDIVIDUAL BACKGROUND PAPERS BE PREPARED ON THE FOLLOWING
SPECIFIC ISSUES PRIOR TO MEETING OF SOUTH AFRICA AND
GROUP OF 5 WEEK OF APRIL 25:

- (A) IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 385: FORM OF ELECTIONS;
INTERIM ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY INCLUDING
POSSIBLE PEACEKEEPING FORCE FOR THE TERRITORY; AND ROLE
OF UN AND SYG.
- (B) CONDUCT OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING PARTICIPANTS.

- (C) POSSIBLE INCENTIVES AND PRESSURES
- WITH SOUTH AFRICA
- WITH SWAPO AND THE AFRICANS.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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